1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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into three sections side by side. Two of the three can be explained by the fact that the ancestors worshipped consist of a male and a female group. The sun, or the sun god, sometimes appears as the third element. Batara Guru is also sometimes mentioned in this connection. Now Batara Guru – which, translated literally, means Lord Teacher – is a name used to indicate the highest celestial divinity, Siwa, but in both Sanskrit and Balinese *guru* can also mean parent or progenitor as well as teacher. Hence the third element denotes the common progenitor.[4] This is in keeping with the thought of the tripartite system:[5] the third element as a higher unity.

The 'shrine of origin' is closely linked with the life of the family. When a young couple marries, in other words when a new family is to be founded, a new shrine is erected in the form of a *turus lumbung*, a platform of thatched bamboo resting on four live *dadap* trunks. After some time has elapsed and the marriage has proved to be durable, this temporary shrine is replaced by one of wood – that is to say of a more durable material.[6]

Among the other standard requisites of the household temple are an offering column for the *ngurah* or *ngĕrurah*, the protector of the ground, and one for the *taksu*, the intercessor between gods and men.

2

Family Gods and the General Balinese Pantheon

These elements of the household temple are closely linked with a specific family and the ground it lives on. They represent primarily the private aspect of the household temple and the worship taking place in it. The household temples also display characteristics of a more general nature, however, and one usually finds in them deities who also play a rôle in the religious activities of the larger social groups.

In the first place there would seem to be a close tie with the religious activities of the village community. One can invoke the gods of the three village temples at the shrine of origin. The navel

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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571 778 temple in Sukawana is called the *dulu*, the 'head' of all the shrines of origin in the village; elsewhere there seems to be an analogy between the shrines of origin and the two offering columns, *kĕmulan desa*, in the *desa* temple. Of a like sort is the link which can exist between a *desa* and a clan temple (*pura dadia*, a temple erected by a number of families for their common ancestors), for in new settlements the clan temple founded by related pioneers can sometimes develop into the navel temple of the new *desa*.[7]

778 776 There are also points of contact between the gods of the general Hindu-Balinese pantheon and the household temple. The shrine of origin itself is associated with the gods of the Hindu trinity,[8] and likewise with Siwa, Sadasiwa, and Paramasiwa.[9] In the household temples of members of the noble castes there is a lotus-seat (*padmasana*) in the *kaja*-eastern corner dedicated to Siwa as the sun god. In the same corner there is often also a small temple with an elongated roof point consecrated to the deity of Gunung Agung.

592 778 829 The household temple, then, is not only the place where one worships one's family gods; moreover it provides the family with the opportunity to maintain contact with and worship the gods of a general character. It is in keeping with this fact that the household temple plays an important rôle in a number of ceremonies in the general Balinese calendar of holidays.[10]

This interplay between the religious rites of the family and those of larger groups on Bali is understandable. We have already seen[11] that elements classified in the same cosmic category are considered equivalent and hence interchangeable. Consequently the step from a purified grandfather to a celestial deity is not so large for Balinese thought as for Western. Both belong to the *kaja* group, to the upper world, thus both have a right to be worshipped and can bring beneficence to the persons worshipping them. The former ruler of Karangasĕm once demonstrated to how great an extent these two conceptions were united in his thinking when he described *adat* violations as "sins against God [*Tuhan*], especially against the spirits [*roh*] of the ancestors ..."[12]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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Chapter Two

Legal Communities in Tĕnganan

In Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan there are three kinds of legal communities: (1) the territorial communities with compulsory membership (the *desa* and the *banjar:* it is true that membership is by invitation, but refusal means complete loss of rights), (2) the non-territorial communities to which one belongs by birth (the young people's associations and the *tempek* or *pauman*), and (3) the communities formed by a free compact of individuals (irrigation associations, the *sĕkaha patus*, and music and dance associations).

I

Territorial Communities

THE DESA

The *desa* is the supreme community, which devotes itself to the service of the gods, summoning the whole population to cooperate for the purpose. Except on the occasion of a few specific religious ceremonies it is impossible for elements from outside the *desa* to participate. Anyone who marries a man or woman who is not from the village and thus acquires alien family ties loses all rights in the *desa* and must either live in the immigrant *banjar* of Pande or in Kĕstala, the hamlet for exiles. Shortcomings towards the *desa* are considered as shortcomings towards the gods, and those guilty of them are punished, often by being stripped of all their possessions and set outside the village. The Tĕngananese begin to prepare themselves for the service of the gods as children, as adolescent boys and girls they go through a whole course of training, and as married men and women they are expected to fulfil all religious obligations – a difficult task, as will be seen.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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where the members are required to pass the night at specified times of the year. 565 575 562

Complementing the boys' associations are the three girls' associations. The girls – who must lead very retired lives, are not allowed to go outside the compound gate unaccompanied even during the daytime until they are engaged, and may not do any trading at the risk of being expelled from the association – do not have a preliminary training such as the young boys, nor do they have a *guru*. Nonetheless they are all able to read. Without any preliminaries, they each become a member of one of the three associations, the same one their mother belonged to. [883]

Between the boys' associations and two of the girls' associations there is a tie called *mĕwarang*. This tie exists between the *tĕmu-kaja* and *tĕmu-tĕngah* boys' associations and the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, and between the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association and the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*. The *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys reportedly earlier asked to be *mĕwarang* with the *dĕha wayah*, but the girls refused. The *mĕwarang* finds expression in mutual aid and the presentation of gifts, and the members of the associations involved address each other as *de warang*. Members of associations which are not *mĕwarang* call each other *sumaningsun*. 571

Marriage bring the Tĕngananese a step further. Both husband and wife become members of the *desa* association (the women sit on the left side at joint meetings), and the parents of the new couple lose their membership. Marriage, then, more or less upsets the division of the population according to age. In this connection it should be pointed out that in a family a younger son who marries before his elder brother is considered as having changed places with the latter. The tie between the new *desa* members and their young people's associations is maintained, since they become *palaks* of their former associations. The *desa* association and the young people's associations are highly interdependent in other ways as well: for example, during various festivals first the members of the *desa* are treated to a meal by the young people, and then the young people are given a repast by the *desa* members. 58 554 575

1;Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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the *desa* council, or performs the *pĕkĕmit bĕngongan*, both the husband and the wife cease to be *desa* members. 623 626

When a *desa* member of whatever rank is deprived of membership, the others retain their old places for the time being, moving up to their new places only in Katiga, Kaněm, and Kasanga, the third, sixth, and ninth month. In certain cases a person who has lost his *desa* membership can regain it. For instance, a widower who marries a girl of the *desa* becomes a member once more, and the village constitution makes it possible for the *desa* meeting to decide whether a person whose membership has been revoked for another reason should be readmitted. He then regains the same seniority he had earlier enjoyed, even though that may mean that his position has moved towards the upper end of the *bale agung* in the meantime. In view of this possibility of regaining membership, a register of persons who have lost theirs, listed chronologically and according to rank, is kept among the village records. [587]

Since the commencement, termination, and regaining of membership depends on a variety of causes, the number of members of the *desa* is variable. In 1926 there were twenty *pĕngluduhans*. This variability in the number of members has come about as a result of the decrease in population in the village. In earlier times the number of members corresponded to the number of *desa* compounds, with only those married couples having a compound becoming core villagers. Now, however, the population has declined to the extent that there are unoccupied compounds and everyone who marries can immediately obtain one. 623 565 162

During the *desa* meetings the *pĕngluduhans* sit nearest of all the core villagers to the lower end of the *bale agung*.[1] It is a general rule that the persons who have a lower seat (*dibĕten*) address those who sit higher up (*diulu*) in the official language, as *dapa* (the feminine form is *dabi*); the higher-ranking persons address the lower ones as *kita*. The newest pair of *pĕngluduhans* is granted a year in which to learn to behave according to the regulations, and in this period transgressions cannot lead to loss of membership. 623 571

Above the *pĕngluduhans* sit the twelve *tambĕlapus*, the two oldest of whom are called *klihans tambĕlapu*. The two *klihans* and the 623 624

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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is called a *pulangan*. Each *pulangan* has a *klihan desa* at its head, who in that function is called *klihan pulangan;* in each *pulangan* there are also a *klihan luanan*, functioning as *subak*, and two *tambĕlapus*, with the office of *saya*. Despite the fact that there is no *de ngijĕng* at present, one of the groups, now eighteen men strong, is called the *pulangan ijĕng*.

The other five *pulangans* meet at the compound of their *subak*, but the *pulangan ijĕng* convenes in the *bale agung*, where the now-invisible *ijĕng* is considered to be seated beside the deity, and a *sĕmbah* is made to him before the meeting begins. Each of the *pulangans* has its own meeting day. A substitute can be sent to the meeting, provided the substitute is a *desa* member. At the meetings it is discussed how best to perform the duties charged upon the *pulangan* by the *desa* meeting or council. The *pulangans* are responsible for maintaining the *desa* buildings, in particular the *bale agung;* among the tasks involved are those of re-roofing the smaller buildings and of keeping the *bale agung* and the *pura kubu langlang* clean. If an important decision is to be taken in the *desa*, all six of the *pulangans* are assembled together.

Anyone who gives careful consideration to this whole administrative complex will have to admit that mutual consultation would seem to have been given a larger rôle in Tĕnganan than perhaps anywhere else in the world, and that there is not the least reason to fear a reign of terror on the part of the *desa* council. This becomes all the more evident when it is recalled that the *desa* administration is in turn closely interconnected with those of the young people's associations and the *banjars*, and that the administration of justice in the *desa* is surrounded by an ample number of guarantees.

The *desa* of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan has a large source of income at its disposal. It is a principle that all property, movable and immovable alike, is held under the terms of the *druwe desa*, the Tĕngananese right of disposal. If the *desa* is in need of something it has only to take it. If a guest of the *desa* must be presented a meal, there is always a sufficient store of rice in the *desa* granary,

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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and woman to be caused when the male organ finally achieves contact with the *manik*.[10]

Although a free display of the affection between the sexes, except in private, is forbidden, the Balinese have a strong tendency to hold on to and caress each other in all relations where no sexual connotation is implied. Fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, love to fondle the young children, to press their faces into them and "sniff" them, just as in the relation between a man and a woman. Two girls, two boys, or two bearded ancients will stroll along a road holding hands, or with their arms about each other. Such gestures should not be misconstrued as evidences of homosexuality, for they are no more than the habitual expressions of a demonstratively affectionate people.

Manifestations of anger are remarked much less frequently than those of love, fear, and affection in the everyday life. An equable temper is certainly the characteristic one among the Balinese. If a man is easily angered, he is said to have *kapala angin*, a Malay expression meaning "a windy head." Although one often hears voices raised in explosive and admonitory speech, they can hardly be said to be expressing anger, for among the adults, as among the children, superiors have always the right to call down their inferiors, an elder brother to speak harshly to a younger, a man to "order" (never simply to ask) his wife to do something for him. Each Balinese is habituated to thinking of himself as relatively more or less powerful than all the other members of his familiar group. And if he is less powerful, he obeys naturally and usually without remonstrance. By contrast, in larger groups, such as communal organizations, whose members are on a less intimate footing with each other, great care is taken to preserve the equality between the members. Each man is reluctant to appear to be giving an order or dictating in any way to his social equal. For this reason, in any group of workers the man whom we would call the "foreman" seems always inefficient and lacking in administrative powers; and the resulting accomplish-

[10] The reproductive function of semen is not unknown to them, as is illustrated in the popular legend of the creation of Kala, to whom Civa gave birth alone, by producing a single drop of semen. The parallel with the *manik* idea is, however, interestingly carried out in the legend, for it is only on being repeatedly struck by the arrows of the gods that the drop of semen becomes alive, gets arms and legs, a head, genitals, etc., and finally stands up and shouts, a fully formed Kala. It is difficult to tell whether the theme of the repeated striking refers to the rhythmic motion of copulation, or to an idea that a single sexual act is not sufficient to cause the development of the embryo, and that the man must continue to "strike" during gestation, so that the child will grow.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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ment has a lively, if haphazard, character, brought about by the enthusiasm of the various individuals working together virtually without a leader. One has the impression that it is fear of angering his fellows which prevents the Balinese from assuming a dominant attitude towards persons outside of his familiar group.

When anger does appear, it usually follows the pattern of the Malay "running amok," also recognized in Bali. The literature is filled with episodes in which a man, even a prince or Radja, who is overcome with grief or thwarted in his desires, "becomes confused in his mind, and retires to his sleeping-apartment, where he lies for many days and many nights, refusing both food and drink." This brooding state is the first stage in the pattern, when the man remains alone, nursing his grievances, until he has worked himself into a trance-like state, and he will have the strength to rush out and commit deeds of violence. Tales of warriors describe the stirring up of anger before going into combat; and all war dances have brooding passages interspersed between the gestures and expressions of fierce and terrifying advance. Bravery in itself is not highly valued. It is considered more natural for a man to be under the sway of fear than of anger. A man shows no embarrassment over his fear—he says quite simply "I do not dare," whether the project in question is a midnight visit to the graveyard, or climbing a coconut tree on a day of the astrological calendar when it is forbidden. The things which a man will not dare to do are those which the experience of his forbears have shown to be unwise, and to behave with intrepidity without good reason would be to court disaster, not only for himself but perhaps for the whole community.

Deviants

We have seen that in such a social scheme each individual has his place, and he has only to do what is expected of him to fit with nicety into the life of the group. But there are occasions when an individual finds it impossible to conform, and at these times disturbance and maladjustment appear. Certain temperaments, for instance, are not amenable to the national habit of submissive obedience. Women with fiery dispositions may run away from their husbands, taking shelter with their own families, and refusing to return, or departing with a lover.[11] A small boy of eight told the following story of his

[11] For cases of runaway wives see the author's "Study of a Balinese Family," *American Anthropologist*, 1936, XXXVIII, No. 1 (in press).

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure

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AS ALL things Balinese, Balinese villages are peculiar, complicated, and extraordinarily diverse. There is no simple uniformity of social structure to be found over the whole of the small, crowded countryside, no straightforward form of village organization easily pictured in terms of single typological construction, no "average" village, a description of which may well stand for the whole. Rather, there is a set of marvelously complex social systems, no one of which is quite like any other, no one of which fails to show some marked peculiarity of form. Even contiguous villages may be quite differently organized; formal elements—such as caste or kinship—of central importance in one village may be of marginal significance in another; and each of the twenty-five or so villages sampled in the Tabanan and Klungkung regions of south Bali in 1957—a total area of only some 450 square miles—showed important structural features in some sense idiosyncratic with respect to the others.[1] Neither simplicity nor uniformity are Balinese virtues.

Yet all these small-scale social systems are clearly of a family. They represent variations, however intricate, on a common set of organizational themes, so that what is constant in Balinese village structure is the set of components out of which it is constructed, not the structure itself. These components are in themselves discrete, more or less independent of one another: the Balinese village is in no sense a corporate territorial unit coordinating all aspects of life in terms of residence and land ownership, as peasant villages have commonly been described, but it is rather a compound of social structures, each based on a different principle of social affiliation and adjusted to one another only insofar as seems essential. It is this multiple, composite nature of Balinese village structure which makes possible its high degree of variation while maintaining a general formal type, for the play between the several discrete structural forms is great enough to allow a wide range of choice as to the mode of their integration with one another in any particular instance. Like so many organic compounds composed of the same molecules arranged in different configurations, Balinese villages display a wide variation in structure on the basis of a set of invariant fundamental ingredients.

Perhaps the best systématic formulation of this type of village structure is to conceptualize it in terms of the intersection of theoretically separable planes of social organization. Each such plane consists of a set of social institutions based on a wholly different principle of affiliation, a different manner of grouping individuals or keeping them apart. In any particular village all important planes will be present, but the way in which they are adjusted to one another, the way in which they intersect, will differ, for there is no clear princi-

[1] [See pp. 1011-1012, category 116, for footnotes; Analyst]

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ple in terms of which this intersection must be formed. The analysis of village structure therefore consists in first discriminating the organizational planes of significance and then describing the manner in which, in actual fact, they intersect.

In Bali, seven such planes are of major significance, based on: (1) shared obligation to worship at a given temple, (2) common residence, (3) ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed, (4) commonality of ascribed social status or caste, (5) consanguineal and affinal kinship ties, (6) common membership in one or another "voluntary" organization, and (7) common legal subordination to a single government administrative official. In the following paper, I will first analyze each of these planes of organization, then describe three villages as examples of differing modes of intersection of these planes, and finally offer a discussion of some of the theoretical implications of this type of village organization.

PLANES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. *Shared obligation to worship at a given temple.* Bali is a land of temples. One sees them everywhere—under the village banyan tree, in the midst of rice fields, by waterfalls, in the centers of large towns, by a graveyard, at the sea edge, on a lake island, in every houseyard, at the mountain top—everywhere; of all sizes and in all conditions of repair; all or most showing the traditional form: the high brick walls, the intricately carved split gate, the tall pagoda-like altars with their storeyed thatched roofs.[2] And there are no ruins in Bali: to each of these thousands of temples there is attached both an hereditary priest and a definite congregation of worshipers obligated to perform detailed ritual activities within its walls at fixed intervals, most commonly every six months. Such a congregation is said to *njungsung* the temple—literally to carry it on its head, as women carry nearly everything in Bali, including the elaborate offerings they bring to the temples on festival days.[3] Every family in Bali, unless it be Christian or Moslem, carries at least a half dozen temples called *pura*—on its head.

Of the great variety of pura, by far the most important to the Balinese are the *Kahyangan-Tiga*. Kahyangan is an honorific word for temple (meaning literally "place of the gods"), indicating a pura of unusual importance, and *tiga* means three—thus, "the three great temples." There are probably over a thousand sets of such temples in Bali, with membership ranging from fifty up to several thousand families; the three temples concerned in any particular locality are the *Pura Puseh*, or origin temple, theoretically the temple built at the time of the first settlement of the area; the *Pura Dalam*, or graveyard temple for the spirits of the local dead; and the *Pura Balai Agung*, or "great council temple" (of the gods), dedicated primarily to maintaining the fertility of the surrounding rice fields. At the first two of these temples festivals are held once in every 210-day Balinese year, at the third once in a lunar year, the specific days depending upon the tradition of the individual temples. At such festival times the gods are conceived to descend from heaven, remain for three

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days, and then return to their home, and the congregation is obligated to entertain them during the time of their stay by means of complex offerings, elaborate rituals, and skillful artistic performances under the general direction of the temple priest and the secular head of the temple. The cost of the festivals, the rather large amounts of labor involved, and the general upkeep of the temples falls on each member of the congregation equally, and this group is typically organized in some fairly complicated manner to achieve these ends.

As mentioned, Kahyangan-Tiga membership is defined territorially, each Balinese belonging to just one of the sets. Nevertheless, one cannot say, as have most scholars, that he belongs to the temple of his "village," and thus that Kahyangan-Tiga can be translated "the three village temples," because only in the limiting case are the boundaries of the basic territorial political unit, here called the hamlet, and of the Kahyangan-Tiga congregation coterminous; in most instances, the religious and political units are not coordinate but cross-cut one another. Whatever the Balinese village may or may not be, it is not simply definable as all people worshiping at one set of Kahyangan-Tiga, because people so obligated to worship commonly form a group for no other social function—political, economic, familiar, or whatever. The congregation of the Kahyangan-Tiga is, in essence, a specifically religious body; in most cases it comes together only at the obligatory temple festivals.[4] Thus, the oft-repeated and much-loved rites at these temples serve to form one crucial bond among rural Balinese of a generally territorial sort, but this bond balances off against other bonds formed in terms of more concretely social activities rather than, as is typical of religious ties, directly reinforcing them.

Besides the Kahyangan-Tiga there are dozens of other types of temples, with different bases in terms of which their congregations are formed: there are ricefield temples, at which worship the men who own land within a particular irrigation society; there are kinship temples, supported by members of a single patriline; there are caste temples where only people with a given rank worship; there are associational temples formed on a voluntary companionate basis, their obligations being inherited by their descendents; there are state temples attended by people subject to a single lord, and so on. Again, some of these correspond to concrete social groups with other, nonreligious purposes, some do not; some are almost inevitably found, some but rarely; some are obligatory for all men, some are voluntary. Thus, by plotting temple types in a locality, one plots the general shape of the local social structure but not its specific outlines. The temple system of the Balinese countryside forms a relatively fixed stone and wood mold in terms of which rural social organization expresses itself, and the semi-annual festivals in each temple dramatize the sorts of ties out of which Balinese peasants build their collective life. But it does not stamp that life into any simple or unvarying form, for within the general mold the possibilities for variations in stress, combination, and adjustment of social elements seem almost limitless.

2. *Common Residence.* As most Indonesians, Balinese live in a clustered settlement pattern, their walled-in house-compounds jammed against each

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forms but one patus, "c" two, and so on. Thus a man may well have his hamlet alliance in one place (not even necessarily where he lives), his temple ties in a second, and his cremation obligations in yet a third, though of course in a majority of cases some of these affiliations may be merged.

Since Njalian contains representatives of a wide range of caste titles, the interaction of the status hierarchy with the hamlet and temple systems adds yet another dimension of complexity. Hamlet "a" consists entirely of Brahmana and higher Satria people, including the ruling family, but some lesser Triwangsa belong to "b," "c", "d", and "e", mixed in among the Sudra. Hamlets "f", "g", and "h" are wholly Sudra, with "f" consisting of but a single dadia kin group, a rather uncommon occurrence. Caste affects temple organization too. In temple set I the death temple was until two years ago divided by a low wall; the Sudra organized their festival separately and held it on one side of the wall, the Triwangsa held theirs on the other. But this has been changed for reasons of economy and democracy, and now all worship together. Voluntary organizations, of which there are literally dozens, irrigation societies, two main ones being involved in this area, and some thirty or forty kin groups also complicate social relationships, though kinship is evidently less important here as an organizing force than in many other villages.

In such an admittedly extreme case of cross-cutting social groupings, the problem of integration, of mutual adjustments among the groups, is a very pressing one. At times open fights have broken out between leaders of various groups over the question of who had prior rights on the services of members common to them. Heavy concurrent demands often mean that work is only hastily done; when the slit gong is beaten to call together members of a given group, many people fail to appear because they either were too far away to hear the gong or thought that it was being sounded for another group to which they were not obligated. To rationalize this situation the Perbekel has instituted a monthly meeting of all important group leaders—fifty people or so—in which he tries valiantly to get them to coordinate their several efforts. He has also attempted to territorialize the system more by making hamlet and temple membership dependent on residence but, though he has had a little success in this direction, most of his efforts have been resisted by the villagers who, he claims, prefer things to be complicated. Despite the fact that he is the traditional ruler of the area, that he has been Perbekel for thirty years, and that he now has the whole Indonesian State behind him, he says that there is really very little he can do in reforming village institutions. People bow and act subservient, but they do just as they wish.

2. *Tihingan.* Although it lies only six miles or so east of Njalian, in the heart of the former kingdom of Klungkung, Tihingan differs from Njalian in most of its important features. Unlike Njalian, Tihingan has never been the seat of a lord, has relatively few Triwangsa and the Perbekel is a Sudra. Unlike Njalian, social affiliations, though complexly organized, are quite systematically integrated rather than randomly crosscutting. And unlike Njalian, there are within the perbekelan three definite spatial clusters of social loyalty to

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Finally, even informal recreational interaction is shaped by extended kinship ties. It is only rarely that a man will enter the house-compound of a non-kinsman after nightfall when the most intensive gossiping takes place, though he will move freely among the yards of his dadia members. (A somewhat more consistent and literal adherence to the virilocal ideal in Tihingan than is common elsewhere means that house compounds of the same dadia tend to be fairly well clustered within the hamlet.) In cock fighting, a great part of the pattern of alliance and opposition—whose cock fights whose, who bets against whom, —is only explicable in kinship terms. In religion, politics, economics, and informal social interaction, kin group membership therefore has a primacy in Tihingan which, though it is far from representing a universal pattern in Bali, is, like Njalian's lattice-work structure, a realized example of one possibility intrinsic in the intersecting plane type of village organization.

In this type of village organization the dangers of factionalism are obvious and the problem of containing kin group loyalties within the bounds of affiliation in hamlet, irrigation society, temple group, and so on becomes acute. Public activities are often marked by partially concealed kin group antagonisms. For example, when the hereditary priest of the origin and death temples died without an heir ten years ago, the kin groups could not agree on his successor so that responsibility for the ceremonies in these temples now rotates among the priests of the four dadia temples – a highly unsatisfactory and irregular pattern that the people themselves regard as "not quite right, but better than having an open war." At hamlet meetings in the balé the sort of universal agreement necessary to make decisions is difficult to accomplish, so that many proposals are blocked by the opposition of a minority kin group. For example, when the Perbekel tried to convince the hamlet to change funeral customs so as to bury people immediately, even on an unlucky day, rather than keep the corpse in the house for several days (a government-suggested health reform that the neighboring bandjar had adopted with little difficulty) the opposition of the dadia most hostile to the Perbekel's prevented the change from taking place, although the majority of villagers were in favor of it. Antagonisms arising out of marriages and divorces across dadia lines, economic rivalries between the musical instrument manufacturing groups, and competitive prestige displays at dadia temple ceremonies also contributed to the heightening of this sort of intergroup tension.

Yet in general, the village is fairly well integrated and factionalization is usually kept within bounds.[11] In part this is accomplished by the concurrent application of two explicit rules of procedure. The first rule is that whenever a group formed on the basis of one principle of affiliation is allocated a given social function, no other principle of affiliation may receive any recognition whatsoever. Thus if the hamlet is cooperating in some task, the work is never suborganized in terms of kinship, caste, or any other bond. If subgroups are technically necessary, people are grouped in a random manner, each family being regarded as a hamlet member pure and simple, as having no qualitative difference from any other. ("The hamlet knows no kinship," runs a Balinese

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proverb.) Similarly, when a dadia is working at a temple festival, or whatever, the sub-dadia ties within the dadia are considered to have no reality and do not act as a basis for subgroup differentiation.

The second rule sets forth a hierarchy of precedence in which the needs of the hamlet outrank those of the dadia, those of the dadia outrank those of the sub-dadia, and those of the sub-dadia outrank those of voluntary groups. For example, if the hamlet as a whole wishes to harvest the fields of its members, then it has priority. The whole bandjar must harvest and does so as a group, with no internal differentiation. If the hamlet doesn't wish to harvest -per decision of the hamlet meeting—then the dadia have next rights, unaffiliated families either banding together or yielding their rights to one or another of the dadia. If the dadia also decides not to harvest, then the sub-dadia may; if the sub-dadia have no immediate needs then the task is surrendered to voluntary groups. The combination of these two rules of procedure -one prohibiting multiple bases of affiliation for a single task, one establishing an order of precedence—acts as a major integrative mechanism in this otherwise rather faction-prone village.

3. *Blaju.* Unlike Njalian, Blaju is not the name of a perbekelan, and unlike Tihingan, it is not the name of a fairly well defined village unit within a perbekelan. Rather, it is the name for a broadly defined region of about six square miles at the eastern edge of the Regency of Tabanan within which the influence of a particular ruling family was preponderant in the pre-Colonial period and to a great extent continues so today. As such, Blaju forms a minuscule state within a state, and its pattern of organization is characterized primarily by a stress on territoriality and caste (or title) as bases for social affiliation. Perhaps more than any other area of Bali, Blaju approaches the common stereotype of peasant social structure as being organized in terms of a pyramid of increasingly inclusive territorial units—barrios, villages, subdistricts, districts, and the like—each unit ruled by an attached political official of appropriate status. But, unfortunately for the sort of theory which would like to see in this system a survival of an "original" Balinese pattern from which all else could be adjudged a "deviation," this hierarchical territorialization is a quite recent phenomenon, occurring as a consciously motivated social innovation explicitly designed to intensify social integration.

The area commonly denominated as Blaju contains four perbekelan, three contiguous, one a kilometer or so to the north. The members of these four perbekelan- about 1500 kitchens—support a common set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples, a rather unusual circumstance, for commonly Kahyangan-Tiga congregations are usually smaller and are less extensive than a perbekelan. Within each of these perbekelan there are four hamlets, and each of these hamlets is further divided into from three to six territorial subunits called *kliran.* A kliran has arbitrarily fixed borders and each adult living within these borders is ipso facto a member of that kliran. It is the kliran, averaging eighteen to twenty kitchens, which performs most of the important day-to-day social functions, and it is the basic cooperative work unit in planting-harvesting, ritual, and the

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121 621 184 tion, kinship system, irrigation society, title distribution, and so on; but such a composite construct would utterly fail to express the two most fundamental characteristics of Balinese village organization, namely, that these patterns take widely differing forms from village to village, and that their relative importance within any particular village integration varies greatly. For similar reasons, the representative unit approach is also almost certain to be misleading. Are we to take Njalian, Tihingan, or Blaju as typical of Bali? In a direct descriptive sense they are not typical of much beyond themselves; but neither, probably, is any other Balinese village. If we are to discriminate what is really essential and characteristic in Balinese village organization we need to take a somewhat different tack and conceptualize that organization not in terms of invariance in overt structure throughout the whole island, or from place to place within it, but rather in terms of the range of overt structure which it is possible to generate out of a fixed set of elemental components. Form, in this view, is not a fundamental constancy amid distracting and adventitious variation, but rather a set of limits within which variation is contained.

571 What is common to Njalian, Tihingan, and Blaju, and to Balinese villages generally, is the set of planes of social organization out of which they are built up; it is the fact that they are all constructed, although in different ways, of the same materials which accounts for the strong family resemblance they show despite their great structural diversity. In the actual investigation of Balinese village organization, one of course proceeds in a direction diametrically opposite to the logic of presentation followed in this paper: the planes are derived through an inspection of a series of villages rather than discovered in pure form and then combined to generate villages. As more and more villages are studied it soon becomes clear that a relatively small set of basic elements is involved; after one has discriminated temple units, hamlets, irrigation societies, the title hierarchy, the kinship system, voluntary organizations, and governmental units—he comes to feel that he is not likely to find a village in which one of these is wholly lacking nor one in which a completely new plane is present.[13] But though the number and type of elements are thus fairly quickly discovered the possible forms they can take and the ways in which they can unite with the other elements are not. Almost every village studied reveals some new organizational potentiality with respect to one or several of the planes, and a new mode of integration. The process of investigating Balinese village organization, in a typological sense, is therefore a process of progressive delimitation of the structural possibilities inherent in a set of fundamental social elements. What one derives is not a typical village in either the lowest common denominator or representative unit sense, but a differentiated and multidimensional social space within which actual Balinese village organizations are necessarily distributed. One discovers more and more what shapes a village can take and still be distinctively Balinese.

Among other things this means that the peculiar, the unique, and the odd take on a rather different significance than in the usual typologizing procedures, for they are seen not as exceptions to a general rule to be accounted for